NOV 2 1921

AS
472
C22
M5

MEMOIRS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

VOL. I, No. 8, pp. 93—119.

NOTES ON THE BHOTIAS OF ALMORA AND BRITISH GARHWAL.

BY

C. A. SHERRING, F.R.G.S., I.C.S.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, AND PUBLISHED BY
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.

1906.

Price One Rupee, Five Annas; or Two Shillings.

24-1-06

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Notes on the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal.

By C. A. SHERRING, M.A., F.R.G.S., I.C.S. *Communicated by* R. BURN, I.C.S.

[Read August 2nd, 1905.]

[The term Bhotia outside the districts of Almora and Garhwal is applied generally to Tibetans, but in these two districts it has a distinctive meaning of its own and is applied to a race of men who are not Tibetans but come of Tibetan stock.]

CONTENTS.

		Page.
I.	Bhotias subdivided	93
II.	Jethoras	95
III.	Tolchas and Marchas	95
IV.	Shokas or Rawats	96
V.	Bhotias of Pargana Darma	102
VI.	Dumras and others	117

The accounts that we find about the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal in Atkinson's Gazetteer, and the interesting articles written by Mr. Traill, Commissioner of Kumaun, eighty years ago, are at the present time misleading, in that they do not accurately describe the people as they are at this moment. The fact is that the Bhotias have undoubtedly changed in many of their ways and customs, owing to the influences of Hinduism, and that now we have more accurate information than was available formerly.

It is impossible to discuss the Bhotias, as a whole, on the supposition that as we give these people the one name, we can review their habits and customs as if they belonged to one more or less homogeneous tribe. The further our enquiries take us, the more clearly we see that they must be subdivided into their different clans, and each clan must be dealt with by itself, entirely apart from its supposed connection with any other clan. And first of all we have to realize how entirely distinct are the usages and even language in the different subdivisions.

We find that although some of the Bhotias have forgotten the original dialect which was, at one time, current amongst them and now speak the ordinary hill dialect common to the neighbouring hillmen, yet there are five dialects which are still alive, and spoken to some considerable extent. These all belong to the Tibetan branch of the Himalayan group of the Tibeto-Burman family, and give us much assistance in subdividing the Bhotia people.

These five dialects, and the number of persons approximately who speak them, are as follows :—

1. Rankas or Shaukiya Khun (614). This dialect is spoken in Goriphat, Johar, and four villages of Malla Danpur, Almora District.

Digitized by Google

2. Byansi (1585); dialect spoken in patti Byans.
3. Chaudansi (1485); dialect spoken in patti Chaudans.
4. Darmiya (1761); dialect spoken in patti Darma, all in Almora District.
5. Bhotia or Huniya (820); dialect spoken by Huniyas, Khampas and Bhotias scattered in different places. The term Bhotia is used here in the sense common outside the districts of Almora and Garhwal.

[*Note.*—This is taken from Mr. Grierson's ethnographical correspondence.]

A Bhotia who talks one of these dialects often cannot understand another who speaks a different dialect. The Bhotias themselves, however, do not admit their Tibetan origin, except the Nikhurpas of Milam, in Almora, and the inhabitants of Malpha, in Garhwal. The latter have a number of their clan still living north of Toling in Tibet close to the Pass called Bogo-la.

All Bhotias, except Huniyas, wherever they live, have two castes, *viz.*, Rajputs and Dumras. In the latter they consider Lohars, Hurkiyas, Dholis, Odhs (carpenters), Bajelas (basket-makers), and Bhools (tailors and shoe-makers). There are no Bhotia Brahmans, although there are many Brahmans living in Bhot, *e.g.*, Dobedhiyas, Pathaks, Karakhetis, etc., who perform priestly functions for the Bhotias. These are received on terms of equality by other Brahmans. These Brahmans have entered Bhot from the South, and are in every way the same as their fellow-castemen in the rest of Kumaun. In conformity with these divisions of language it is best to subdivide the Bhotias as follows :—

Partially Hinduized Rajputs.

1. The Jethoras who speak the Rankas or Shaukia Khun and live in Goriphat and Malla Danpur and Johar, Almora District.
2. The Tolchas and Marchas of Mana and Niti, in the Garhwal District, and Johar in the Almora District. These have forgotten the old dialect and employ the ordinary hill-language of their neighbours.
3. The Rawats, or Shaukas, or Shokas (a corruption of Sokpa) of Johar, Almora District. These have also forgotten the original peculiar speech of their race and now use the hill-dialect.

Nominal Hindu Rajputs.

4. Byansis
5. Chaundansis
6. Darmiyas

} living in the *pattis* of Byans, Chaudans and Malla Darma—all in the Darma pargana, Almora District.

7. *Lower caste.*—Dumras, who live through the length and breadth of Bhot in Garhwal, Johar and Pargana Darma, Almora District. These are a clan in themselves, and their customs and habits everywhere are similar.
8. *No caste.*—Huniyas, who are closely allied to the Tibetans and are Budhists and nominal Hindus both at the same time. They ought not to be called Bhotias at all, in the sense generally understood in the Almora and Garhwal districts, as they are domiciled Tibetans.

Digitized by Google

Jethoras.

The name Jethora derived from Jeth, or elder brother, is given to those Bhotias who are popularly supposed to be the descendants of the first Bhotia settlers in Johar. They are to be found in the villages of Goriphat, Talla Johar and Malla Danpur, Almora district, and their subdivisions are named after the names of the villages in which they live. Thus we have Papra, Chilkola, Ringwal, Bothyal and Golphal, who are supposed to have come originally from Doti in Nepal. Then there are Namkival, Tangyal, Jaimyal, Pachhain, and Tomkyal, whose original habitat is unknown. The Joshyals claim Jhusi near Allahabad as their original source, and the Barniyas admit a Tibetan origin. The Papras and Barniyas are considered Vaishyas.

The remarkable point with reference to the Jethoras is, that they do not trade with Tibet, and in fact are not traders like the ordinary Bhotias. They subsist by cultivating the soil like the zemindars in the neighbouring *pattis*, and never even visit Tibet. They are a stationary people, who cling to their homes and are rarely seen away from their villages in other parts of the district, and in this respect they contrast strongly with the other Bhotias who live a migratory life, and whose principal object is trade with Tibet, which they visit several times a year and whence they carry merchandise to the foot of the hills.

The Jethoras have a very good opinion of themselves and put forward claims to superiority. They allege that in ancient times they held the Johar *patti* on a contract from the ruling prince, to whom they paid a nominal sum. But this claim to superiority is not admitted by the other Bhotias, none of whom, whether from Johar or Darma, will marry with them, or even eat with them. The Jethoras are quite agreeable to eating *kachcha* and *pukka* from the hands of all other Bhotias. They are becoming rapidly Hinduized, but have not yet adopted all the Hindu customs: for instance, they do not remove their clothes when eating rice and *dal*, and they do not wear the sacred thread. They generally speak of themselves as Rajputs. The gods of their worship are those of the ordinary Hindu religion such as Durga, Debi, Mahadeo. They also worship the mountain Panchachuli and Goril and Maheswar.

While speaing of inferior Bhotias it is to be noted that the term Kunkiya is generally applied to such. Originally the Kunkiyas were slaves, who had received their freedom, but now the word is applied to a Hindu who marries the daughter of a Bhotia, and to his offspring, and finally to any Bhotia, who has gone down in the world, *i.e.*, has fallen from riches to poverty. They are considered to be Rajputs, but of a very inferior type, and other Bhotias, including the Jethoras, refuse to marry with them or eat with them.

Marchas and Tolchas.

In Garhwal there are only Marchas and Tolchas, who freely intermarry amongst themselves and accept the daughters of the neighbouring hillmen who are not Bhotias, although the latter will not take the daughters of these Bhotias in marraige, and the alliance is considered one of patronage. Outside Garhwal, Marchas and Tolchas are to be found in Johar of the Almora District. Here Tolchas and Marchas marry amongst themselves,

Digitized by Google

and Marchas freely intermarry with the Shokas (or Sokpas), otherwise known as Rawats of Johar. Tolchas go so far as to give their daughters to the Rawats, but refuse to take the daughters of the Rawats for themselves, as they consider themselves as superior. The Niti valley is inhabited by Marchas and Tolchas, and the Mana valley by Marchas only. Malari village is the lowest village in which any Marchas are to be found. Below it and up the Rini valley the inhabitants are all Tolchas. The Marchas of Mana are divided as follows :—

(1) Malphas, who are really Tibetans, and have others of their clan living North of Torling near the Bogola; but they do not intermarry in Tibet now.
(2) Badwals, said to have come from Barahat near Gangotri in Tihri-Garhwal.
(3) Bhatrajias, supposed to have come from the Girthi river.
(4) Dharkolis, alleged to have come from Malla Nagpur.
(5) The original inhabitants of Mana.

These five clans intermarry. They are connected with the famous Badrinath temple, being part of the Panch Dimris, *viz.*, Rawal, Dimri, Duryal, Joshyal and Marcha. As the Badrinath temple is on Bhotia land the Marchas of Mana receive an annual payment of fifty rupees in cash, twenty seers of *chana* (gram), and one *pagari*. This is a fixed payment and is conditional on the fact that at the *Janam Ashtmi* festival, when the idol is carried through Mana to be bathed at the waterfall and fed at the Mata Murati, the women of Mana, led by the Malpa women, clothed in festival attire, shall sing hymns in honour of the god.

Passing to the Almora District we find that the Tolchas to be met with in Johar never marry the Johari Shokas, and that only the Garhwal Tolchas part with their daughters to the above.

Shokas or Rawats.

In Johar there are many divisions of the Shokas, or Rawats: in fact in each village there is a caste which derives its name from the name of the village. No such caste can marry within itself: it must marry outside. Thus there are:—

Pangtiyas, Dhamsaktus, Nikhurpas, Nitwals (or Tolchas), Milamwals, Jang-pangis, Burphwals, Biljwals, Martoliyas, Tolias, Laspals, Paspals, Mapwals, Sumdyals, Pachhpals, Rilkutiyals, and Khinchyals. Some of these affirm that they come from Garhwal; others from Doti in Nepal, or Benares, or Tibet.

The Rawat ancestor of the Milamwals obtained permission from the Gartok Garphan to establish himself in trade, and built Milam and Burphu, and received a grant of Chunpal from the Huniyas. The connection with Tibet is still kept up, in that the headman (*padhan*) of Milam has a so-called Jagir at Khiunglung in Tibet, which entitles him to receive annually as a gift five goats and two rupees worth of *ghi* (clarified butter), and as many beasts of burden or coolies as are necessary for the carriage of his effects, whenever he goes to, or returns from, Missar in Tibet.

The Rawats of Johar are earnestly striving to follow all the ordinances of the Hindu religion, and invariably speak of themselves as Hindus; in fact, so far has their progress

Digitized by Google

gone that some authorities have classified them as Hindus. There can be no question, however, that whatever opinion these Rawats may hold concerning themselves as orthodox believers in the Hindu faith, the other Hindus do not consider them orthodox ; and the lowest caste will not eat with them, although all, except Brahmans and superior Hindus, will smoke with them. On the other hand, the Rawats and all Bhotias will eat *pakki* (by which they mean cooked food as opposed to uncooked) with Rajputs and Brahmans, and *kachchi* with all except Doms and Muhammadans ; and similarly they will drink with all except Doms and Muhammadans. In Nepal, however, Hindus of the better castes will drink with them.

There could be no greater mistake than to suppose that the Mitakshara law is applicable to any of the Bhotias ; in fact, excluding Johar, the Bhotias do not even know what the Vedas are. It is in questions relating to property, the law of inheritance, adoption and woman's property, that the difference between the Bhotias and other Hindus is most clearly seen. A woman has no special property of her own, although at the will of her husband or father she may be allowed to keep what she earns ; but this is entirely dependent on the pleasure of the man concerned. The laws of inheritance are not those of Hindu law, and the principles applicable to adoption, as found in Mitakshara law, are unheard of. As a matter of fact, in cases of adoption the choice invariably falls upon the heir. The idea of a joint family is quite unfamiliar. The father is the absolute owner of all property, including ancestral, and can mortgage on his own signature without reference to his sons. When the infirmities of age impair the father's business capacity, the sons divide the property and he is more or less at their mercy. There is no fixed share apportioned to him, but custom generally insures that some extra portion is put aside for him, and he lives with the son who is his favourite. Frequently the father is neglected, and cases of great hardship on parents who have been rich, but whose property has been taken by the sons, are often met with. A son can at any time insist on partition. Johar and Mana are exceptions, in that the father can refuse to give his sons shares in his self-acquired property ; but in regard to ancestral property he has no choice.

There can be no doubt that originally the Johar Bhotias followed all the customs and ceremonies at present to be found in Darma ; but since the Butaula Rawats migrated to Johar from Garhwal *via* Tibet, some three hundred years ago, a gradual change has been taking place, and the old customs have given place to the ordinary ceremonies of the Hindu faith, such for instance as *Bratbandha*.

Ceremonies among partially Hinduized Bhotias.

The following are some of the ceremonies to be found among the partially Hinduized Bhotias :—

Birth.—On the fifth day after child-birth *Pancholi* is performed, the woman and child being allowed to occupy a separate room or house, but no one is permitted to touch them. Should anyone by accident touch them, the only purification is by sprinkling cow's urine on the body and tasting the urine.

On the eleventh day, *Namkaran*, or "name-giving," called *Mishi* in Johar, takes

Digitized by Google

place. On this day Brahmans purify the woman and the child, and they may then enter the house and touch water. A horoscope is prepared according to the rules of the Jyotish Shastra. When the first two or three children in a family have died young the right nostril of the new-born child is pierced, or the child is given to a *fakir*, who shortly after returns it. When the first-born has survived, but others have died in early youth, a large piece of *gur*, or sugar, is broken upon the back of the first-born, so that the newly-born infant may start its young life with the bad luck of the past broken. A child born in *Mul* and *Ashlikha Nakshitras* is handed over to some third person with whom it remains up till its tenth or eleventh year, the parents not seeing its face till then. After the sixth month *pasani karam*, or *chhoti diwai*, is performed. The Brahmans choose the day, and the child's paternal aunt gives the child *sattu* mixed with curds to lick for the first time. New clothes and ornaments are usually given at this ceremony.

Bratbandha takes place between the ages of eight and twelve years. The sacred thread is not, as a rule, put on at this ceremony; in fact, only a few Bhotias wear the thread, the reason being that the attendant obligation of bathing daily is so irksome in the cold journeys to Tibet, that few care to incur the obligation. However, after the *Brathandha* ceremony they never eat without washing the hands and face, which is a distinct advance on the prevalent dirty habits of the other Bhotias; and the Butaula Rawats go so far as to always do *sandhya* as well before taking food. The *dhoti* is henceforward worn, the hair of the head has been cut short, and the boy can fast and perform Shradha, if his parents are dead. The boy's ears are pierced, and the family priest instructs him as to his future conduct. On the fifth day afterwards *dunkhor* is performed.

Marriage.—In regard to marriage, the ordinary Hindu customs are followed. Some person, often the family priest, is sent in search of a bride. *Mangni* takes place between the ages of nine and twenty-five years; and after the *mangni*, or asking, usually six months elapse before the formal marriage (*shadi*). The *gona*, or consummation, takes place at the age of maturity. In all marriage arrangements the girl is never consulted; the parents on both sides usually make all their plans, absolutely regardless of the children concerned. Every man and woman is married, and this is a notable difference between these Bhotias and those of Darma Pargana, where in every village many unmarried persons are to be found, the reason being that there marriage depends upon the will of the parties, who are always of mature age at the time of the marriage contract; and instances are not uncommon of men and women who have remained unmarried all their lives, because nobody would marry them.

Marriage is (1) by *kanyadan*, the girl being given without a price; (2) by *damtara*, *i.e.*, giving a price for the girl to the parents; (3) by *adala badala*, or exchange, a man giving his own daughter and taking for his son, or his brother, the other man's daughter. Men of position are ashamed to get a girl by *kanyadan*, though they have no objection to giving their own daughters in this way.

Brahmans perform the ceremony according to the Shastras. An altar (*bedi*) is made and fire placed on the top, and at the four corners are little trees, and all round the altar are pine trees. The bride and bridegroom take seven turns round the fire and

Digitized by Google

the altar, this being the binding part of the ceremony. The bride puts her foot on a *sil*, or stone used for grinding, and as she goes round pretends to slip and is caught by the bridegroom each time, in this way signifying that in future all lovers will be ground to powder.

Before marriage a girl wears a nose-ring called *bali*, but after marriage and until her husband's death she invariably wears the *nath* (nose-ring).

A man can, and often does, have two or three wives. A marriage is always accompanied by lavish expenditure.

Remembering that each village contains a different branch of Bhotia Rajputs, it has to be noted that intermarriage within the village is strictly forbidden; marriage must take place with some one of another village. For instance, a Biljwal cannot marry a Biljwal though he can marry a Martolia.

Widow-marriage, in the sense of a marriage with all the honour and dignity of a first marriage, is unknown.

However, it is a common practice for widows to go and live with other men; but the unions thus created never occupy the same rank in popular estimation as an ordinary marriage, although no disfavour is shown such as outcasting from food or drink. The man in question pays a sum of money to the deceased husband's relatives, who give in return what is usually known as a *ladawa*, or relinquishment. Generally the widow of an elder brother goes as wife to the younger brother.

Divorce is known, and the form of divorce is simplicity itself. A man tells his wife to go, and she leaves him. If she wishes to live with another man the union is not known as a *pakki shadi*, or true marriage. The man in question has to pay for her to her former husband, who on his part gives a *ladawa* or relinquishment. If the divorced woman has daughters by the first husband, he will get the benefit from them, that is, he will receive the money for them when they get married, and they are his heirs and not heirs of the second husband.

Death.—The funeral ceremonies are on the analogy of the Hindu rites. If a boy dies before the *bratbandha* ceremony he is buried, and not burnt, and salt is put into the grave with him; otherwise the usual custom is cremation. All the sons and kinsmen of the *gotra* shave the head, moustache and beard, and the eldest son sits in *gat kriya*. If the eldest son is not at home the second son takes his place, and if no son is at home the priest does the duty. The kinsmen of the *gotra* fast for one meal.

Gold, called Hiran, is put into a dying man's mouth, and after death the body is tied in a coarse white winding-sheet (*katara*) and fastened on to the bier (*jhanji*), and over all is thrown a silk shroud (*pitambar*). The funeral procession is composed of mourners who go bare-headed preceded by three boys, or men, holding a strip of white cloth one at each end and the third in the middle. This is called *bat*. After them comes another man throwing *khila*. This peculiar custom is unknown in Kumaun or Garhwal amongst hillmen.

At the pyre a head-bone is kept to be thrown into the holy lake of Mansarowar, or into the Ganges; and until the opportunity for doing this may come, it is put aside with some gold in a small brass box in the hollow of a tree or under a stone. All the

Digitized by Google

mourners present at the cremation bathe, and on their return are purified with cow's urine, when they receive two loaves of bread each called *chhak*. On the tenth day the polution, *chhut* or *shutak*, leaves the kinsmen, who then bathe and put on new or clean clothes. A death in a village is considered unlucky, and people avoid undertaking any particular ceremonies from which they hope that success will ensue.

On the twelfth day the ceremony of *godan* is performed, and afterwards the kinsmen touch the *pipal* tree and wear *pithawa*.

The kinsmen abstain from flesh until the fifteenth day, but the eldest son abstains for a whole year, that is, until the performance of the annual death-rites, or *barsi*. These rites are repeated from year to year.

After the touching of the *pipal* tree it is a common thing for the son to go on pilgrimage to the Mansarowar lake, or Hardwar, in order to cast the head-bone of his father into the sacred waters.

Worship.—As is to be expected, we find that some of these Hinduized Bhotias still worship Tibetan deities. For instance, the Nikhurpas, who eat and drink with the Johar Rawats and marry with them, worship the god Dhurma. This deity is specially sought after in the rainy season when the people have tired of a long spell of wet weather and hope by propitiation of the god to effect a change in the climatic conditions prevailing. Two poles are fastened in the ground; to the top of one is fixed an iron or brass trident surmounted by a yak's tail, and to the top of the other an image (*murtti*) of a man's head. Throughout the ceremony of worship music is played, and finally a goat is slaughtered. Meanwhile the devotees are anxiously awaiting the moment when the god will manifest himself by taking possession of one of the throng. Suddenly some man is seized by the religious frenzy, and rushing forward drinks the blood of the goat, and in this ecstatic state dances round the poles; and finally climbing the pole, which holds the idol, he imprints a bloody kiss on the mouth of the deity. A temple with rooms has now been built in honour of Dhurma: this is a new departure, for hitherto he owned no habitation built by men's hands.

Similarly, at Burphu and Tola, the Tibetan god Lhamsal is worshipped. The people fell a large tree, and carrying it to an open space fix it in the ground and make it firm with three ropes. Strips of cloth of every description are then fastened to every portion of it, and yaks' tails are tied in different parts of the tree; after these preparations the people sing and dance round the tree for three days on end. Persons who have had a son born to them are especially devoted to the worship of this god, and once a year offer a goat and liquor.

One of the most remarkable deities worshipped in Garhwal is the god Ghantakaran or the bell-god. It is common to find a large bell, sometimes one-and-a-half feet long, suspended to a cross-bar supported by two uprights on the top of some lofty mountain. The lonely goat-herd, or the zealous devotee, rings the bell when passing the spot. The bell-god is very specially worshipped for nine days from Utraini in the month of Magh; and in this special and remarkable service there are associated with him three other gods, *viz.*, Kailas, the Tibetan deity; Kumer; and the deity Nanda Devi. The last named is the loftiest mountain in the British Empire, 25,650 feet high, and is situated in

Digitized by Google

Bhot, and the first is a most sacred mountain near the Mansarowar Lake and is revered by Buddhists and Hindus alike, and is commonly known as the abode of Shiva. The annual adoration takes place at Pandukeshar iu Garhwal Bhot, and the ceremonies are specially interesting as they afford an instance of the religious fervour, or ecstacy, which seizes the devotee and makes him act as though goaded by a mania. An iron tripod, *janti*, is made red-hot in a furious fire, which is zealously fed by the crowd. The men who are particularly favoured by the manifestation of the gods are Duryals of one family, living in Pandukeshar. At the present time Gobind Sing is the favourite of Nanda Devi, Dharma of Kailas, Mehrban Sing of Kumer, and Debu of Ghantakarn. Only the gods Kailas and the bell-god manifest themselves; when the religious excitement is at its highest the two favourites of these gods suddenly rush down to the river and bathe, and dripping with water they rush towards the scorching fire. The crowd with cries of, "Behold the god!" rub butter on the hands of the one who is devoted to the bell-god, and he immediately raises the red-hot tripod and inverts it over his head and puts it back, while the other leaps into the flames and leaps out again. This is the description of an eyewitness.

The deity Acheri is worshipped everywhere and is called Nungtang in Pargana Darma. When anyone has sore eyes, or a lingering illness, the goddess has to be appeased and her influence (*dos*) removed, and this is effected in one of two ways. Either a brass dish (*thali*) is put on an earthen pitcher (*ghurra*) and is beaten until the affected person begins in a frenzy to dance, and indicates what particular sacrifice will find favour with the deity; or a dooly is made with sticks and cloth, and is worshipped with cakes (*puris*) and lights, after which it is carried to some lonely spot and left, the hope being that the malevolent influence is left with it.

The Jethoras worship Balchan and Runiya, and the Milamwals resort to Sain when a sheep or goat is lost, and the deity leads the worshipper in his search for the straying animal. When bears are doing much harm to the sheep and goats, or when an animal is sick, goatherds whether in pargana Darma, or Johar or Garhwal make supplication to the brothers Sidhuwa Bidhuwa. It is also interesting to note how particular deities go out of fashion; for instance, Bir Singh and Jammu Danu are no longer worshipped as they were heretofore.

Apart from the above deities, the Bhotias who are partially Hinduized worship all the gods of Hinduism. Devi and Nanda Devi are particular favourites everywhere. As many as two hundred and fifty goats will be sacrified to Devi at one time, as well as many buffaloes. The Bhotia Rajputs eat the flesh of the goats themselves, but Dumra Bhotias eat the flesh of the buffaloes.

Food.—The Rawats of Johar are more Hinduized in some ways than the Jethoras, Tolchas, and Marchas, for they know of Gotra, Sakha or Pravara, whereas the latter do not. The question of taking food with certain persons and not with others, which is of absorbing importance to the ordinary Hindu, is treated in some respects very seriously; for instance, the Rajputs do not eat with Bhotia Dumras, and in other respects very lightly, in that they are quite willing to eat with cow-killing Tibetans. Bhotias do not care, as a rule, to partake of the Tibetans' food, solely because the latter are abominably filthy in their

Digitized by Google

habits, and generally eat rice and meat which is only half-cooked ; while Bhotias who are of much better social condition and enjoy greater material prosperity look with contempt on such poor food ; but supposing that the food is properly treated and rationally prepared all Bhotias will willingly join Tibetans at a meal. The Johari Rawats profess not to eat with Tibetans but only to drink tea with them. As a matter of fact, the beverage called tea contains in it besides tea, large quantities of butter, salt, *sattu*, and frequently flesh, so that the above professions of the Rawats are scarcely true. All Bhotias, whether of Niti Johar or pargana Darma, eat wild boars and fish of every kind, but not snakes, lizards, jackals, beef, fowls, or the long-tailed goat, except the Dumra Bhotias who eat the two last named. In Johar the men eat first and then the women, and leavings are always for women and juniors. In pargana Darma there is no custom of eating the leavings, as men, women and children all sit down and eat together. It is impossible for the Bhotias to worship any of their deities without plentiful supplies of the liquor called *jan*. This is a fermented liquor and differs from *daru*, which is distilled ; both are made from rice, wheat and grain of all kinds, such as *palti*, etc.

Dress : (Difference between Pargana Darma and the rest of Bhot.)—In the matter of dress there is a great difference between the Bhotias of Garhwal and Johar and those of pargana Darma. The men, it is true, generally dress in woollen stuffs of home manufacture, their garments being the coat (*anga*) trousers (*paijama*) and cap (*topi*) familiar to all hillmen, and very generally a long frock coat (*bakhu*), while their shoes are the same as those worn everywhere in the hills, though sometimes they wear woollen boots of chequered colors which come from Tibet, and are soled with rope very ingeniously and finely plaited. These boots are called *baukch* or *babch*, and are found everywhere except among the Jethoras who do not visit Tibet. They cost three to four rupees a pair. The women, on the other hand, are different to the ordinary hillwomen. The Mana, Niti and Johar women wear a skirt (*lahanga*), coat (*kurta*), waistcoat (*tawa*), and shirt (*angia*)—and finally a head-gear (*khupi*) which goes one to one-and-a-half yards down the back, and with which the face can be covered. The custom of *pardah*, i.e., covering the face, is extending, but happily the practice of close seclusion at home is unknown. However, *pardah* is so far known that the elder brother never sees the face of his younger brother's wife, nor does he ever speak to her or go into the same room with her. Gold ornaments are very common with the women of the above locality, whereas they are unknown among the women of the Darma pargana, except in a few of the very richest families in a *patti* Byans.

The Darama pargana is divided into three *pattis*, viz., Byans, Chaudans and Darma, and the residents in these three *pattis* have customs which distinguish them by a sharp line from all other Bhotias; and, further, the customs of the three *pattis* are not all exactly alike. The women of Darma pargana wear a short-sleeved coat (*chung*) which reaches down to the ankles and is fastened round the waist: a skirt (*phu* or *bala*) which is fastened round the waist by a long sheet like a *dupatta* (known as *jujang*): a cap (*chugti*) on the head, and after marriage a much larger cap of thicker cloth (known as *chukla*). In case of mourning the *chukla* is worn inside out. The nose-ring (*nath*) is unknown in *patti* Darma and Chaudans, and the Byansis replace it by an ornament in

Digitized by Google

the shape of a clove (*bira*). The hair is plaited into a tail which comes down to the shoulder-blades, and in Chaudans a little lower. The front hair is plaited into slender threads (*tzi*) which are very carefully arranged on both sides of the face, and a silver chaplet invariably holds the plaits in place (known as *anjang*). Long woollen boots imported from Tibet (*baukch*) complete the description. Richer women wear in addition two sleeves (*rakalcha*) which are pulled on over the arms.

The spelling of different words in the Bhotia dialect cannot be adequately compassed by the Hindi vocabulary: the Tibetan alphabet alone expresses the sounds properly. There is no written character for the Bhotia dialect.

Birth.—We cannot expect to find the Brahmanical influences strong in the Darma pargana as there are no resident Brahmans whatever, and the Bhotias being a migratory people, it is difficult for them to call in their assistance, when they are on one of their trading excursions. Still the Brahman with his supposed knowledge of the stars and skill in prophetic announcements as to the future has a peculiar charm for this superstitious race, and certain individuals acquire a degree of popularity, such as the Brahmans of Legam in Nepal and Charma in Askot, and their help is much sought after in the framing of horoscopes. To ascertain with accuracy the exact time of birth recourse is had to the water-clock, and the hour thus recorded is kept with jealous care until a visit can be conveniently made to the Brahman, who will, after due consideration, authoritatively declare what name is the most fitting for the child, having regard to the position of the stars and the period of the calendar. The names so given are invariably of the purest Hindu type, such as Lachh Ram, Dharm Sing, etc., but meanwhile the impatient family has already named the new-born child with some truly Bhotia name, which will cleave to that child throughout its life notwithstanding that the Brahman has given it another orthodox and auspicious name. This fact will account for the double names that are so familiar. Side by side with the well-known Hindu types we have names such as the following :—

Names of animals, as, *mushiya* (mouse), *kukuria* (little dog), *hansu* (swan, in Byans), *maina* (bird), *bandar* or *bandaru* (monkey), *bila* (a cat), *nikhi* (dog), or the girl's name *Wombari* (*wom* = bear, *bari* = wages); or to avert the jealousy of the gods, evil names, as Dam (let the scoffer note that this means blacksmith), *pang* (a Tibetan), *chhora* (a slave), *khyembo* (a Tibetan word meaning a wanderer), *dola* (a beggar).

Tibetan names are not uncommon, such as, *chhiring*, which is derived from *chhi* life, and *ringbo*, long.

After childbirth the mother is kept in an outhouse for ten or eleven days, but if there are only fifteen days to the end of the month, then till the last day of the month. The ceremony which marks her return to the house is called *milin khu kwormo*, taking near the fire, and is celebrated by feasting, and offerings to the gods, and prayers. The feasting consists in eating the offerings which are composed of rice and *puris* and *dalang*. The *dalang* is so typical of all Bhotia ceremonies that it merits description. *Sattu* or flour is made from parched grain, and this *sattu* is worked into a cone one-and-a-half feet high, pointed at the top and large at the bottom, and from the sides of this cone stand out spikes of *sattu* from the base to the vertex. The *dalang* occupies a leading place in all social rites, and so important is it that the binding part of the

Digitized by Google

marriage ceremony (to be described later) consists in the bride and bridegroom breaking a *dalang* and eating it.

The ears of the child are pierced at an early age, as men, when old, are partial to ear-rings and pendants, and women at all times wear ornaments in their ears. In the case of a girl the women make a ceremony out of the custom and formally eat parched grain (*pu*).

After the birth of a man-child it is the father's important duty to present it together with two *dalangs* at the *saithan*, or shrine of the god, on the annual festival of *milu changmo* (from *milu*, spite, and *changmo*, throw away), which is held for the special purpose of averting the evil eye, and removing the jealousy of the gods, from the crops and baby-boys. The *saithan*, or god's place, is a little chamber a yard in length and the same in breath, and two or more yards in height, in which there is a white stone, *viz.*, the familiar *ling*, and on the top of which there is a small branch of a tree adorned with narrow strips of white cloth (*daja*) which flutter in the wind. The villagers gather together at the *saitthan* bringing with them plants of every description from the fields, and flour made from the phapar (called *sili*), and when all are assembled the plants are twisted and plaited into a wreath, and a venerable elder, chosen by popular acclamation, is placed on a commanding spot and given a sickle, and near him is placed the *sili* or flour. It is the duty of the old man to strike the wreath in such a way that the flour sinks into the interior and intermingles with the leaves, and to exclaim: "Begone, the evil eye and the jealousy of gods and men." The wreath is then taken to the nearest cross-roads, and after the discharge of fire-arms is left at the parting of the ways.

In the case of a first-born male child in certain villages of *patti* Byans such as Garbyang, Budhi, and Kuti, and the Nepalese village of Tinkar, the father holds an annual festival called *barani*, or *barai*, at which with considerable expense he feasts the men of the whole village with boiled rice, and next morning they resort to the *saithan*, taking with them a long slender tree, cut just above the roots, thirty to fifty feet in length and with branches springing from the top (called *darcho*), which they erect in front of the shrine. These shrines can generally be recognized from a distance by means of these poles, or *darchos*. The little boy is then brought, dressed in his best and on the back of his mother, and the father presents five sheep and two *dalangs* to the god. The sheep are to be killed with one stroke of the *kukri*, and should the striker fail, the onlookers immediately mulct him of a four-anna piece for every failure.

In the patti Chaudans the father has to present his boy-baby formally to the elders (*panch*) with two "*dalangs*," and they with equal formality overlook the boy. This ceremony usually takes place in the months of *Sawan* and *Bhadon* on some date which is mutually convenient, and a different date is fixed for each parent in the village who wishes to present a son born that year, and each presentation implies a feast to the elders.

As a boy grows up he is taught some profession, and, at the age of twelve years, he is expected to be fit to enter upon his own line of life. As long as his father lives he is compelled to place his earnings in his care, but should he outrival his parent and brothers in business capacity, he is given great freedom of action. With regard to joint

Digitized by Google

property, and partition, and the rights of the father as against the children I have already noted above. It is not to be forgotten that each son can claim a share irrespective of the number of wives that his father may have: for instance, if there are two wives, and one has one son and the other two, the shares will be one-third each, and not half to one and a quarter to each of the others.

Marriage.—The Rajput Bhotias of *dattis* Darma, Byans and Chaudans intermarry freely, and it is a recognized rule that marriage must take place with some person of a different village, and that if the contracting parties both belong to the same village it is absolutely necessary that they should be the descendants of different stocks. The best marriage for a man is with his father's sister's daughter, or his mother's brother's daughter; but a man may not marry his father's brother's daughter, or his mother's sister's daughter. Similarly, a girl should marry her father's sister's son, or mother's brother's son, but not her father's brother's son, or mother's sister's son. There is no prohibition against a man marrying two sisters, but they cannot be his wives both at the same time: after his wife's death he can marry her sister. The Hindu custom of comparing horoscopes is never followed.

In *patti* Darma the practice of *mangni* is found, but in *pattis* Byans and in Chaudans it has been unknown for the last thirty years. When a boy is two months old or more his father sends bread and wine to the father of some girl younger than his son with whom he wishes his son to contract matrimony. If the latter breaks and eats the bread and drinks the wine, the arrangement is considered to be established. Two to three years later the arrangement is kept in memory by the boy's father sending a large vessel of liquor to the girl's parent, and there is feasting of friends and relations. Finally the actual marriage (*shadi*) takes place when the girl is between seven and eleven years of age, and the *gona*, or consummation, at the age of maturity. On all occasions great care is shown in choosing lucky dates.

But although the practice of *mangni* is found, still it is by no means common. Practically the universal custom of the three *pattis* Darma, Byans and Chaudans is to arrange marriages at the *rambang*, which is the village club and generally a very disreputable place. The Bhotias of Johar and Niti look down upon the *rambang* and will have nothing to do with it in their own country, having given it up many years ago, still they are quite willing to avail themselves of the *rambang* when they visit pargana Darma. In every village a house, or some spot, is set apart which is called *rambangkuri* or place of the *rambang*, at which men and women meet and spend the night singing lewd love-songs and drinking and smoking. Married and unmarried men go there, also single women, and married women up to the time that their first child is born. Girls start to go to the *Rambang* from the age of ten years, and practically never sleep at home after that age, the result being that a virtuous girl is unknown in pargana Darma. As is to be expected, a system such as this leads to the freest intimacy, and one sees a man walking about with his arm round a girl's waist, both under the same covering shawl, a practice common in Europe but rare in the East. Modesty is unknown, and there is a boldness in the faces of the women. Intentional miscarriages of illegitimate children are not at all uncommon.

Digitized by Google

Large villages have more than one *rambang*, and, as the avowed object of these *rambangs* is to arrange marriages, only those persons resort there who can marry one another, such as the boys of a neighbouring village, or, if of the same village, only those who are not relations. When a resident of a distant part of the country comes to a village, travelling on business, he would not dream of asking his friends to give him food and shelter, for this would be regarded as a disgrace: he must wait to be invited by them first. However, if he goes to the *rambang* he is sure of a hospitable welcome. In this way the *rambang* is a great convenience, but it can only be used thus by persons known in the village. A stranger is unwelcome without an introduction.

When the Bhotias are travelling or go to their winter quarters one of the first considerations is to set apart some spot for the *rambang*. If girls wish to invite the boys of a neighbouring village to meet them they wave long sheets, one girl holding one end and another the other end. This waving can be seen for miles, and is really a very pretty custom. It is also used in bidding farewell to friends and lovers, and is frequently accompanied by whistling, the two fingers being placed in the mouth as in the familiar London cat's call. Boys and girls are both adepts at this whistling, and it is the usual method employed by the boys of inviting girls to come out of their homes. On hearing the whistles the girls take a little fire and issue forth from their houses and proceed with the boys to the chosen spot, and, if they are old friends, they sit side by side round a blazing fire, otherwise all the boys sit on one side and the girls face them.

Often the girls dance, and sometimes the boys, while singing, smoking and drinking are continued until they are all weary, when sleep brings quiet to the scene.

The Bhotia songs, called *bajyu*, or old-fashioned, are the general favourites with the elders, and are always sung by the company with a fervour that shows how keenly all appreciate the formidable vicissitudes of climate, and the terrible hardships of mountaineering, or the brave deeds of their ancestors, which are faithfully portrayed in them. These songs of a bygone time, composed in the Bhotia language, are now supplemented by others in the ordinary hill-dialect, of which those called *timali* most closely resemble in their serious nature the old *bajyu*, whereas the gay *tubaira* (*tu* = fleeting and *baira* = a song) is full of levity, hilarity, and wantonness.

The Bhotia is a wise and cautious trader and circumspect in all his dealings, and it is not to be supposed that he allows the passion of the moment to override the value he attaches to a powerful alliance through matrimony with a rich neighbour's family, and therefore in almost all cases a young man takes his parents, friends and relations into his confidence with regard to the object of his affections, and it is only if the arrangement appears to be a satisfactory one that they advise him to make an offer of marriage. And we must remember that the young ladies of these parts are allowed full liberty in exercising a preference, and, further, that if they do not find a wooer they have the certain prospect of remaining unmarried all their lives. In every village there are women who have grown old and have never known wedlock, and similarly there are men (I know one of a leading position and great wealth) who fail to find a mate owing to some physical defect or bodily infirmity.

After due consideration the young man, either personally or through his friends,

Digitized by Google

offers the girl a sum of money (*lakchhab*) varying from five rupees to one hundred bound up in a piece of cloth. Generally the young lady is not directly approached, but the gift is handed over to her intimate associates (popularly called *taram*, which means literally a key), and they promise to exercise their influence with her. Her answer is not obtained without a family consultation of her relations, and should the match appear a suitable one the gift is retained, otherwise it is returned. In the case of acceptance the *tarams* always pose as having been indispensable.

In fixing a day for the marriage, Monday is carefully avoided as that is universally considered an unlucky day, and although the date thus fixed is well known by both families, a pretence is always kept up that the girl's parents are not going to let her go willingly. Therefore, when the bridegroom (*byolishya*) leaves his house to fetch his bride (*byolo*), his father summons his son's friends (called *dhami*) to a feast quietly at night, and subsequently they are despatched by him with secrecy in the dark hours in the company of his son to the bride's village. Arrived at the village they go to the *Rambang* where they find the bride and her bridesmaids (*shyasya*) with whom they consort for a time, and then carry off the bride in their arms. They convey her only a short way to keep up the semblance of forcible removal, and then wait and call the bridesmaids, and with them proceed homewards until they reach the groom's house, outside which they all sit down. Each one of the groom's women relations brings them a glass (*lota*) of liquor (*sagun*) to show the pleasure felt at the marriage, and in the name of all the gods they drink to future happiness. On entering the house the first part of the binding ceremony of marriage is performed by the elders of the village, who produce two *dalangs*, two glasses of liquor and rice, and calling all the gods to witness, break off the tops of the *dalangs* and give them to the bride and bridegroom to eat and the liquor to drink. Feasting now commences, which lasts for a fortnight, each family of relations taking it in turns to entertain the bridal party; and *jan* is drunk until, as a Bhotia described it, a man "is bathed in drink." Then follows the second binding ceremony—*puris* are given to the groomsmen and bridesmaids, and also a waist wrap (*jujang*) to each of the latter, and then the formal rite of *datu* takes place, *i.e.*, small pieces of *dalang* are broken off and put in a dish and the couple are made to exchange by giving a piece with one hand and taking with the other. This ceremony, done before the gods, with the elders and bridesmaids as witnesses, ties the final knot of wedlock. This is known as a *patham* day, that is, the releasing of a girl from her house, and the local blacksmith claims a gift (*dasturi*) which takes the form of money or a blanket. The bridesmaids are then allowed to go, but the groomsmen, who have by now become their firm friends, take them into their charge and feast them for some days. Before they are allowed to depart they combine in erecting as a sign of the marriage a *chandan*: that is, they place two long poles in the ground (*darchos*) and fasten a rope between them, and on to the rope they tie all sorts of things, such as, caps, books, mirrors, *dajas* of different colours of cloth, scissors, etc., and no one would dream of removing any of them. Subsequently it is a point of honour for the bridesmaids to invite back the groomsmen, a few at a time, and return their hospitality in their own village.

Keeping up the semblance of a forcible removal, on the day when *datu* takes place,

Digitized by Google

two envoys are sent from the groom's village to the girl's father, who ask the village elders to help them to persuade the father to accept the *fait accompli*, and present him with liquor and cloth. This ceremony is called *binti*, or intercession. The father proves reasonable, and a day is fixed for the bride and bridegroom, with two or three others, to pay their first visit to his house (this visit is called *nashi*). On the appointed day the groom's party arrives with sheep and goats for liquor and *sattu* for *dalangs*. In the early morning two sheep or goats are slaughtered, and the liver being removed is carefully examined by the local seer, who foretells the future. Before the village *panch*, or gathering of elders, twenty-nine rupees are tied up in white cloth and handed over; seven rupees being the mother's milk-money (*nuthung*, *nu* = milk, *thung* = drink), known as "*dud mol*" in Kumaon, and twenty-one rupees for the father, and an extra rupee to make up an odd sum, odd numbers being considered lucky. If the father is a rich man, he refuses to receive his share, looking upon the payment as the Joharis do upon *kanyadan*. Cloth is given to each relation and to the village headman, and *dalangs*, meat and drink are offered to the gods and then consumed. The tops of the *dalangs* are broken and pieces exchanged as in *datu*. *Jan* is given to the father and mother and relations, as well as to the *panch*, in small cups, and in each case a rupee, or an eight-anna piece, or some other coin, is presented to the drinker in the cup. This rite is known as *yar*. Finally, on a lucky day, the bride and bridegroom are allowed to go home, but not till each relative has given the bride cloth for a covering (*barko*) or dress (as (*jujang*). Her father, however, gives her nothing as he is considered to have done his duty to her, while unmarried, in presenting her with jewellery, and it is known that he will give presents afterwards up to the time of the birth of her first child.

It sometimes happens that a girl is carried away in reality by force from the *rambang*, but unless and until she eats *dalang*, *datu* and *jan* with her captor she is not considered to be married to him. If she is conniving at the elopement, against the will of her parents, and formally eats and drinks the ceremonial food, in process of time her relations are compelled to accept what cannot be mended. There have been instances when three parties of boys have been determined to carry off the same girl, and have blocked all the tracks, the girl being finally taken off across an almost impossible mountain-slope; but such cases are not the common practice of the people.

Divorce and Remarriage.—The customs of divorce and remarriage are very similar to those among the Johar and Niti Bhotias. In divorcing a woman the husband gives her a *thán*, or piece of white cloth (known as *jujang*) in Byans and Chaudans, and a sum of money, rupees twenty-two, in *patti* Darma. The cloth is invariably white, the idea being to give her, and her children by any subsequent marriage, purity and legitimacy, and until the cloth is given no divorce has taken place; in fact, should a man elope with another man's wife (*chalu*) he is shoe-beaten, and his goats and sheep stolen from him with their packs (*karbaj*), and the children are illegitimate. The husband, or any of his close relations, can so treat the erring man, or any of his close relations, and in doing criminal work it is useful for the Magistrate to be aware of the universal practice. The children are known as Teliyas until the second husband, or his children, have held a formal *panchayat* with the first husband, or his descendants, and an official account has

Digitized by Google

been taken of the original husband's marriage expenses, and these have to be made good, and it is only then that the white cloth is given which sets the woman free. An accompanying final ceremony is the waving of a fowl round the head of the woman and the man, and the heads of the members of the *panchayat*. There is no means by which a wife can claim a divorce, and if a man takes a second wife, and refuses to release the first, there is no way in which he can be compelled to release her however unhappy she may be, and she cannot marry again unless she has been properly released. However, in common practice a second wife is only taken with the concurrence of the first, generally in cases of sterility, or on the definite understanding that the first wife will be released.

A woman who has been married to a man and refuses to join him, and remains with her father instead, must be formally divorced, her father paying all the husband's marriage expenses, and the latter pays her a sum of money (*pati* or *nakhsira*) and gives her the white *jujang*. But should she die at her father's house before her formal release, her husband must perform her funeral ceremonies, though, should her father agree, he can give the formal divorce after her death, and before the time of the ceremonies. Great importance is attached to this, because the father and her relations consider it an unholy thing to mix her "bone" (to be explained later) kept after the death ceremonies with the family bones, unless a proper divorce has taken place.

Funeral ceremonies.—In regard to funeral ceremonies and customs a distinction is drawn between little children and grown-up persons, the line of separation being the permanent teeth. As soon as the milk teeth are being replaced by the permanent ones a child passes from the one category to the other. Little children are wrapped in wool and buried facing the east, the head being to the north and the feet to the south, and little is done in the way of ceremonial, though, should the child be on the point of getting its second teeth, children of a similar age are feasted on boiled rice. The dead body of grown-up persons is placed in a white cotton bag (*katro*) with the knees touching the chin, and not at full length as is the practice of the Hindus: further, the bag is sewn with thread spun contrary to the usual way. The bier is the same as that used by Hindus, *viz.*, two poles with slats of wood across. The corpse is then placed on the bier with the face to the east and is tied to the poles by a cord, and is carried head foremost in the procession. To the front of the bier is fastened a piece of white cloth, cotton if the deceased is a man, and woollen if a woman (the latter being specially prepared by the womenfolk for themselves), which is carried by the deceased's sisters, nieces and daughters on their heads in front of the bier, their *chuklas*, or head-gear, being turned inside out. The cloth is known as *am lugara*, *am* meaning a way and *lugara* cloth, the signification being that the spirit or soul of the deceased can be thus easily guided forth. The procession is led by a young boy or girl with fire in the hand for the funeral pyre; next come the women holding the *am lugara*, the nearest relation going first and others behind her in order of closeness; then the bier carried by four men-relations, *viz.*, one at each pole-end (it is absolutely necessary that the leaders should be near relatives); and finally the villagers with fuel for the cremation. On the way to the pyre all men-relations walk with their caps doffed.

The burning-place is usually on the bank of a river, or a brook, and the pyre is formed

Digitized by Google

of a stone enclosure (*rhapa*) six feet long and three feet wide, filled with wood, spaces being left to give free access of air. The clothes worn by the deceased at the time of death are placed among the faggots, and the corpse having been put on the top with face towards the east by one of the mourners, the bag, or *katro*, is cut at the face, and a piece of precious metal, such as gold or silver, or even a pearl (*akchhya*, from *ak* = mouth and *chhya* = food) is placed in the mouth, the corpse being supposed to become "*sudh*," or purified, thereby. Oil is poured over the corpse, and finally branches of the sacred *dhupi* tree, found in the high hills, are cast on the top, and then the whole is fired. No one remains to watch the cremation, but the mourners almost immediately wash their heads, hands and feet, put their caps on and their head-dress (*chuklas*) straight and return to the home of the deceased. Here they purify themselves in the smoke of a fire made of *dhupi* wood and then go to their own homes.

On the following day a few men and women proceed to the burning-place and pull down the enclosure (*rhapa*) and wash the place and remove one of the burnt bones. The men doffing their caps and the women turning their head-dress (*chuklas*) inside out, solemnly bear the bone enclosed in an iron, or tin-box to the place (each village has one or more) of dead men's bones. Here they are met by others, who did not accompany them to the pyre, with parched grain (*pu*) and *sattoo* or moistened flour (*du*) and other things necessary for the coming ceremonial, which is a part of the funeral rites (*dhurung*) which will subsequently at another time be carried out in full. To screen the spot from the vulgar gaze two curtains are erected on both sides of the place, the girls hand parched grain (*pu*) to the men, and then two of them, one with a cup of flour (*du*) and the other with a jug of water, sprinkle on the ground, while the men dig a hole and put the bone with its case into the ground. After this four reed sticks are put up at the four corners, four feet apart, like boundary pillars, and the tops are joined by three threads of different colours, *viz.*, red, white and yellow. Next immediately above the interred bone a forked stick is placed in the ground, and from one arm is suspended a pair of new shoes if the deceased is a man, and a pair of long boots (*baukch*) if a woman; and from the other arm is suspended a gourd full of water. Below the gourd is a plate with flour (*du*) on it covered with *ghi*, or clarified butter, and as there is a small hole in the bottom of the gourd, water drops continually on the food beneath.

That night there is given a funeral feast, and very special provision is made for the soul of the deceased. A stone is placed upon two sticks, these being pushed into the wall outside the house or into the roof outside, and a little cooked rice is put on it, and the elders of the village make special prayer, beseeching old souls, called *yishimis* [*yi* = old and *shimi* = a breast, but in this instance it means the soul of one whose death ceremony (*dhurung*) has been performed], not to appropriate the food for themselves and thus deprive the deceased. Great care is taken to renew the food thrice daily before the family takes its own food, and it is not until the *dhurung*, or death ceremony, has taken place that this giving of food ceases. At the funeral feast of the first night large balls of cooked rice, as big as cricket-balls, are prepared and are distributed (called *rham*) next day by two unmarried girls, each family in the village receiving two. These girls wear, although unmarried, head-dress (*chukla*) which only married women wear, and one of them carries a

Digitized by Google

basket (*doka*) full of these balls on her back, and it is curious to note that the basket is tied by the very same *am lugara*, or white cloth, by which the corpse was led to the pyre.

From this day onwards up to the *dhurung* ceremony, all singing is stopped among relations, and men may not wear a turban, or a ring on the right ear (the left is immune), nor may they shave, or crop the head ; similarly the girls, who are related to the deceased have to eschew rings on the right hand, and allow two frontal hair-plaits (*tzi*) to hang down on each side of the face, and sometimes they go the length of putting off all jewellery for three years with the exception of a coral wreath and a bracelet. Should the deceased have died far from home, they are anxious to ensure the spirit finding its way across difficult places on the route, and, therefore, when returning home, they lay a thread of wool on the ground to guide the spirit of the deceased. In Chaudans this custom has been given up.

If the deceased has succumbed to some infectious disease such as smallpox, or cholera, the corpse is not burnt, but buried, or is thrown into the water, and in this case no bone is retained except a tooth to be put in the place of dead men's bones. Such a horror have they of leprosy, that if the deceased has been a victim to this dread disease, they simply cast the corpse into the water and retain nothing, not even a tooth.

The distribution of rice-balls to the villagers is an important ceremony, and should the death have occurred at a distance from home they make a point of performing it on their return.

In *pattis* Byans and Chaudans cremation follows death immediately, but in *patti* Darma burning takes place only in the month of *Kartik*, and the corpses are interred in the ground during the interval and are exhumed in *Kartik* for cremation. This is a filthy and most insanitary practice.

Dhurung or Gwan.—The Bhotias of Pargana Darma all speak of the funeral ceremonies as *gwan*, and these rites are still found among certain Bhotias near Jumla in Nepal, who are said to have migrated from *patti* Byans. They were undoubtedty practised in the past by all Bhotias in Johar and Niti and Mana, but at the present time the Rajputs have entirely abandoned the custom, which is only followed in those parts by the Domra Bhotias, and as the people of those parts have also forgotten the Bhotia language they have applied the hill-word *dhurung* to what is universally known as *gwan* in the Bhotia language. The origin of these rites and the practice of cremation is prettily told in the common story which all Bhotias tell: An old man in days long gone by, when the world was young, lost his only son, and in his agony of grief determined to go even unto heaven to plead for the life that had been taken from him at the feet of *Miyar Misru* (*Miyar* means heaven) the god omnipotent, creator of all things. He arrived in time to see that *Misru's* own son, his only son, had just died also, and he witnessed the cremation and other ceremonies that were done in heaven, and *Misru* told him that when death did not spare him the omnipotent what could he do to assist terrestrials. Returning to earth the old man taught the Bhotias all that he had seen, and henceforth they followed the heavenly ritual, only substituting stone for gold in the cremation enclosure (*rhapa*), wood for silver in the bier, and wood for silver in the fuel of the pyre.

In Byans and Chaudans there is only one *gwan* ceremony for the deceased, and it

Digitized by Google

can take place either in June for those who have died during the preceding eight months, or in October for those who have died since the June ceremony. In *patti* Darma there can be more than one *gwan*, and there are generally two to four, the number depending upon the means of the deceased's family.

As the time for *gwan* draws near, the members of the family summon the village elders to fix a date, and some time during the waning moon is chosen. The interval is spent in making preparations: *jan* or spirit is brewed from rice and barley, and the grain of the *phapar* is parched (*phuru*), and above all things sheep, goats or yaks are sent for from Tibet. In the ceremony of the *gwan* an animal is always made to represent the deceased and is called *ya*. In *patti* Chaudans and half of *patti* Byans a yak is always chosen, and great care is taken to see that its forehead, back and tail are marked with one continuous blaze of white. But in *patti* Darma and the remainder of Byans, the influence of Hinduism has made the people give up yaks (except the Domras, of whom later) on the ground that they are cows, and sheep and goats are selected instead. The selection is left to the spirit of the deceased, which marks its approbation by making the approved animal shake its tail, while the relations throw rice on it. The sex of the animal follows the sex of the deceased. An indispensable part of the ceremony is the presence of a *seyaktza*, who is an old man well-versed in the lore of the future world, and it is his duty to remind his listeners, by the narration of old stories, how the *gwan* and other funeral ceremonies arose, and to instruct the spirit of the late deceased (*nushimi*, *nu* = new) as to the paths it should follow and the dangers it should avoid in reaching heaven. The word *nushimi* is in contradistinction to *yishimi* (*yi* = old) or spirit, whose *gwan* ceremony has been performed.

The ceremony can be performed in four days, but as the ceremonial of the first day has to be performed on a different day by each family of relations in turn, the total number of days depends upon the number of families concerned. Before the first day there is a large amount of bread made by the women relatives and neighbours, and next morning each family in the village receives one loaf in exactly the same way as the rice-balls were distributed (*rham*), the bread being put into the *doka* or basket and the *am lugara* being used as before.

The first day is known as *shin gumo jya*, or wood-collecting day, this being the meaning of these three words in this very order, as large quantities of wood are collected for cooking purposes and torches to be used on the subsequent days. The principal ceremony on this day is known as *ya shammo* or the leading forth and bringing back of the *ya* (*shammo* means go and come back). After a feast of rice the *ya* is taken to a spot outside the village by the relations, who also take with them many kinds of parched grain (*pu*), a suit of clothes and a few ornaments, and having reached the given spot the girls give the men grain (*pu*), and the deceased's clothes are tied by a white cotton cloth on to the *ya*. Grains of barley are thrown on the *ya*, and it is solemnly stated that the *ya* represents the deceased, and old spirits, *yishimis*, are besought not to take the food of the lately-departed spirit (*nushimi*). Then a solemn procession is formed in exactly the same way as when the corpse was taken out for cremation, *viz.*, the *am lugara*, or cotton cloth, is fastened to the horns of the *ya* and is carried by the girls first with

Digitized by Google

chuklas, or head-dresses, reversed: these are followed by the *ya*, and last of all come the men with heads bare. On entering the village the *ya* is fed with wet flour (*tzama* corresponding to Kumaoni *uwa*) in a cup and a little spirit (*jan*). Again, on reaching the house of the deceased, the *ya* is fed with rice and liquor (*jan*), and the clothes of the deceased are removed.

The mourners are either *putie* (from *pu* = parched grain and *tie* = with), that is, those distant connections who come only with offerings of parched grain or a little rice and spirits, or *myechame* (from *mye* son-in-law, brother-in-law, uncle-in-law, and *chame* girl), who are sisters, etc., of deceased, or of the husband of deceased, and bring with them a sheep or goat as well as what the *putie* bring. A good deal of food is required for the feeding of the *ya*, and the mourners bring offerings for his nourishment. Should the deceased be a man his mother's brothers also attend and are called *puwahiya*, this expression being never used on any other occasion. These bring sheep and goats, etc., and sufficient rice to feast all the villagers on the second or third day. The *myechame* girls never, if possible, come alone; they almost invariably bring their husbands with them, or some other man whom their husbands delegate, the reason being that they have important duties which are most suitable for men to perform, *e.g.*, to lead the *ya*, or make boots for the burnt bone (*hri*) of the deceased to be placed in. These boots are called ghost-boots, *shimi babch* or *baukch* and are some six inches long, being simply a round cylinder of cloth with a leather sole, the whole very diminutive and very coarsely prepared. Again a tablet of accounts is to be drawn up, written with wet flour on a wooden slate, showing for the edification of the dead exactly how much flour has been used in making cakes (*puris*, Bhotia *ja*). Another duty is to get the sticks for the erection of the dummy figure of deceased and so on—duties most suitable for men to perform.

From the very first day there is continual dancing on the part of the villagers in front of the house where the *gwan* is taking place, and they are fed with rice or *puris* (*ja*). The second day is known as *ya kummo jya* (*kummo* meaning to go and come back), and closely resembles the first day, the *ya* being taken out and clothed and led back in exactly the same way, the only difference being that on the first day all the villagers go, and on the second, only the near relations. On this day rice is boiled (*ya chhaku* or *ya kum chhaku*, *kum* being connected with *kummo* above and *chhaku* meaning boiled rice), and is given both before and after the leading ceremony to all relations.

The master of the ceremonies is called *Chhangma*, and needless to say that his principal work is to see that there is no lack of the "barley bree" and that there is plenty of good fare for all. He sees that proper persons are set apart to make the *shimi babch* or ghost-boots, and the frame for the dummy figure, and that fuel wood is collected; and, in fact, that everybody has something to do.

The third day is *zam kummo*. In the early morning all the villagers go to the deceased's house; the men receive a little *sattu* and liquor and their wives two cakes (*puris*) each, and then they take the *ya* and go to the place of dead men's bones (*ya shyam*) where deceased's bone is lying in the casket. Great care is taken to insure privacy by again putting curtains on both sides while the case is being taken from the ground, and when extracted the case is immediately placed inside the ghost-boots, which have been made

Digitized by Google

during the preceding night. After this the procession wends its way exactly in the same way as on the first and second days. As it enters the village, the *ya* is fed by everybody with rice and liquor, and the relations actually escort it to their own houses and feed it there, and the *myechame* man who leads the *ya* comes in for his share of good things. The men at the end of the procession discharge fire-arms as they move along, and throw grain (*phuru*) over the *ya*. The final feeding is at the house of deceased, where outsiders first give it food, and then, lastly, the family members. After this the clothes are removed and conveyed inside the house with the bone in the ghost-boots. Here a dummy figure, resembling the deceased, is prepared by pushing three sticks into a reversed basket, the sticks being wide apart at the bottom and joined at the top. As one stick is longer than the others, it serves for the neck and head. A fourth stick fastened at right angles makes the arms. Over all these the clothes are placed and a rough representation of the deceased is made. The four walls of the room are hung with clothes of every description on ropes going from corner to corner (*chandan*). The *seyaktza* who is versed in the knowledge of the future world is seated by the figure, and forthwith begins his stories of the ghost-world and tenders his advice to the departed soul as to the dangers of the road that have to be encountered; nor must the old man relax for a moment in his duties during the whole of that day and all that night, be sleep never so oppressive.

The practice in Chaudans is slightly different, as the figure is made in a field, and one field is set aside for the use of the whole village: the bone, however, is kept in the house, and the *seyaktza* watches over it till midnight.

All the relations of the deceased bring balls of rice which they place in front of the dummy figure: these are kept for a while and are finally thrown away outside the village, together with the tablet of accounts and the stone on which the spirit's daily food has been placed. A place is set apart in the village (called *mabang*) where all the villagers dance during the *gwan* days, and where they receive cakes (*puris*) on this the third day. Then comes the weird ceremony of the formal dance executed by all the men of the village (they are called *garkhal*) in a long row. They come dancing up to the deceased's house and are feasted, contributions of food being levied from all relations, if the people of the house are not rich enough to incur this expense. The feasting is called *garkhal chhaku* (rice). As this dance proceeds metal dishes and cooking-utensils are taken out of the house and beaten by the men, while the girls carry torches in their hands; and finally all resort to the *mabang*, where the dancers go round in one direction and the others in the opposite direction beating the vessels and holding torches, and throwing different kinds of parched grain (*pu*) and little pieces of cloth. This ceremony is called the *garja pashimo*, the latter word meaning to go round; and after this the men do not doff their caps to the dead.

The last day is *ya pongmo* (rooting up of the *ya*), on which they get rid of the spirit of the deceased. The venerable *seyaktza* having finished his last words of advice to the soul, the clay figure is taken out and the clothes removed and put on the *ya*, the wooden frame being cast away, and a *myechame* man leads forth the *ya* to a distant spot from the village; and, on this occasion, all the villagers beat the poor victim to drive it away, and

Digitized by Google

chase it to prevent return. In Chaudans it is allowed to roam free on the mountains, but elsewhere low-caste Bhotias or Tibetans speedily despatch it and eat the flesh. So pleased are the villagers that the spirit has departed, that they return singing and dancing and distribute amongst themselves cakes with little ears attached (*puris*). This is called *rhashimo*, from *rha* clean, *i.e.*, purification. Men and women shave, cut their hair and wash their heads and wear rings on their ears and hands. As to the bone, half is taken and buried in some lofty spot, and the other half is taken to some sacred place such as Kailas or Mansarowar by one of the household, who remains unkempt until he has deposited the bone in its final resting-place. Each of the mourners gets either some cloth or a vessel as a present. Formerly, in patti Darma, if any onlooker wished his descendants to note that he desired his own obsequies to be performed on a magnificent scale, he blew a trumpet and announced the fact publicly, and woe betide any heir who failed after that to do all honour to the spirit of the deceased. A widow throughout the whole of Bhot leaves off all jewellery for a year or more, and also the *nath* (nose-ring). If she marries again she reassumes the nose-ring (*nath*). A widower does not now, in any place in Bhot, leave off the loin cloth (*langoti* or *dhoti*) or any other garment, as noted in the Gazetteer. In former times monuments and images used to be made in honour of deceased persons, and can still be seen in Chaudans, but they are not made now.

Religion.—It has been already described how the Bhotias erect *saithans*, or shrines, for their gods, but most frequently we find a simple stone, and by it a *darcho* (a tree-trunk with a few branches left on the top) fixed in the ground with strips of cloth (*daja*) floating in the wind tied to it. The general form of worship consists in the cooking of *puris* (cakes) or rice, and preparation of *dalangs*, which are offered with liquor. Small pieces of the food are broken off and thrown with both hands towards the seat of the god; bits of cloth are torn up and similarly thrown; the liquor is sprinkled with two pieces of grass, one in each hand, towards the same spot; and sometimes the worshippers offer burning lights. Meanwhile a man brings water in a *lota* or glass (called *rhati*, from *rha* pure and *ti* water) and puts into it an old coin, which must on no account ever afterwards be spent; and also a sprig from the *dhupi* tree, part of the sprig protruding from the glass. Fresh *dajas*, or strips of cloth, are tied on to branches and put over the *saithan*, and prayers are offered. Goats and sheep are often slaughtered in numbers, and the ceremonial is as follows: A man sprinkles water on the animal, and as soon as it shakes its body to throw off the drops, everyone realizes that the deity has accepted the sacrifice, and immediately its hair is pulled out in tufts and thrown towards the shrine, and then the animal is despatched. Fresh blood is taken from its breast by tearing open the skin, and is sprinkled on the *ling* which is inside the shrine, and the horns are cut off and placed on the shrine with some of the brains mixed with rice placed between the horns. Removing the skin, the liver, diaphragm and lungs are taken out reeking, and are carefully examined by the diviners for portents as to the future. The art of divination is in great request, but diviners are few, and amateurs are chary of meddling with the terrible possibilites of the unknown. These rites are faithfully carried out before the annual exodus to the lower hills and on return from below to their homes, and also at *shankrant* in the month of *Bhadon*. Formerly the liver was torn from the living animal, but at the present

Digitized by Google

time this barbarous custom has been given up, and the internal portions are only removed after death, but while they are still reeking hot; and many animals are slain before the desired signs are apparent.

The *Bhotias* are a most hard-working, practical race, and yet they are most superstitious. They are always at work, both men and women, and in their idlest moments, for example at the *rambang*, they are still making thread for weaving, and in all their business they are most capable and clear-headed—still this is the race that is in the clutches of a superstition that saps the very life-blood. They attribute all sickness to evil spirits; they place an axe at the door of a house where anyone is seriously ill; when they take a sick man to see a European doctor they fasten a sickle round his waist to fend off the evil one; a returning traveller, before entering his village, confines thorns and nettles under stones, thinking that in this way he has laid the evil spirit; and this practice is common at the heads of passes, near dangerous bridges, or in difficult places. For the cure of sickness these people resort to burning and bleeding in a manner that makes the civilized beholder sick to look at, and these barbarous remedies are made more effective by incantations. They no longer believe that a thunderstorm will take place if they rub their metal vessels clean with earth in the usual manner (a belief that at one time made the inhabitants of *patti* Darma notorious for their filthiness, for they cleaned their vessels on their wearing apparel instead, and never washed themselves or their garments); but they do believe that they must fire off guns to prevent the blacksmith (*kaliya*) from seizing the deities of the sun or moon at the time of an eclipse, and their other beliefs are on a par with this. They worship at all the Tibetan monasteries in the same way as the Tibetans, and they consider the Tibetan places of worship very sacred. They worship the same deities that they find the Tibetans worshipping when they make their trips for trade purposes into Tibet, and they worship their own deities and also the whole host of Hinduism, or rather, to be accurate, all those that they have heard about, for they are only dimly initiated into the mysteries of the Hindu faith in the supernatural.

Each village has a deity of its own, and each *patti* has its own favourites, but the deity *Gabla* is universally worshipped with offerings of goats, sheep, *dalangs* and rice (*sherje*) as being the most powerful, and his votaries resort to him for removal of rain or snow, or with prayers for success in business, or similar matters. Similarly the goddess *Nyungtangsya*, or water-goddess, is everywhere worshipped; one particularly sacred spot being Kalapani, where the river Kali, also known as the Sarda, is supposed to have its source, the object of the worship being to ensure a perpetual flow of the water. *Puris* are made and offerred upon her *saithan*.

In all villages we find tree-trunks with branches (*darcho*) placed in front of houses and at *saithans* with flying streamers (*daja*), to propitiate the local deities on occasions such as the house-warming of a new building or when there has been trouble, the poles being placed in the ground at the beginning of the new month. When Bhotias leave their homes to trade in the warmer south they place baskets, just like waste-paper baskets with the bottom knocked out, full of thorns and twigs, on the courtyard walls of their deserted homes, to preserve the empty tenement from unwelcome guests of the spirit world.

In the village of Kuti we have the god *Gulach*, and in Nabi the god *Thakpung*: the

Digitized by Google

people of Gunji worship the goddess *Namti*, who corresponds to *Debi*, and definite rules exist as to the quantity of the offerings, *e.g.*, every four men must provide one sheep, but if the group is less than four, then every two men must provide one goat. The inhabitants of Chhangru have their own deity. This village is just across the border in Nepal, and is therefore politically Nepalese, though physically it should be British, together with the village of Tinkar, as these two villages are cut off from Nepal on all sides by impassable glaciers. The deity *Madeu* watches over the safety of Chhangru and holds the place of a village watchman in the popular estimation. At a time of drought or excessive rain, the inhabitants of Garbyang turn to Kungr, and offer him wet flour, or dry flour, on his *saithan*, according as they desire the rain to stop or come on.

But the most potent deity of all in the estimation of the people of Garbyang, Budhi and Chhangru is *Namjung*, the name being taken from a mountain on which can be distinctly seen two stone figures from a great distance: the mountain is called Sunpatti Shoka. The figures are sitting, and the story is that a *shoka* went to carry off a girl to be his wife, but to avoid matrimony the damsel hid herself and was frozen to death. He searched for her and eventually met the same fate. This deity is principally worshipped for the prosperity of the eldest son at the *barani* or *barai* ceremony described above.

The men of *patti* Chaudans place their faith in *Shyangse* as the most powerful god, and hold an annual festival *shyantung* in his honour. No particular date is set apart for this festival, but it generally takes place in *Asauj* or *Kartik* (end of September or beginning of October). Goats and sheep are not sacrificed at the *saithan*, but at the homes of the villagers.

In *patti* Darma the noble group of the Panchachuli mountains dominates the minds of the inhabitants, but they are known locally as Miyula, and the goddess on the summit bears the same name. The mountains in this part of Bhot are particularly awe-inspiring, and the only pass Neo Dhura leading to Tibet is so dangerous on account of glaciers, that all traders fasten a long pole across their bodies to preserve them if they fall into the crevasses when they journey across these forbidding heights. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that *Chan* is worshipped for mountain-sickness, when a man faints from the rarified air, and the offering takes the form of covering a goat with red earth, and either killing it or letting it loose to wander at will in the mountains: undoubtedly there is implicit faith in the efficacy of this offering.

There is a dual deity *Kibang Rangchim* who is both male and female, the one name signifying the former and the other the latter. The god is usually represented by two stones, and worship takes place between the two.

Apparently there is only one deity *Nungtang* who is worshipped solely by women among these Bhotias of pargana Darma, and the worship takes the form of offering sticks with streamers one inch broad and a foot long attached to them. It is a very pretty ceremony and is supposed to be of special avail for sore eyes, or when a patient is suffering from the evil influence of a god.

Domras or *Dumras*—The low-caste Bhotias are composed of blacksmiths (*lohar*), drum-beaters (*hurkisa*, from *hurka* a drum), *dholi*, from *dhol* a drum, carpenters (*odhs*), basket-makers (*bajelas*), tailors and shoe-makers (*bhools*) and others. They only intermarry

Digitized by Google

amongst themselves, and their customs throughout Bhot are similar, bearing a general resemblance to Darma customs. In the funeral ceremonies (*gwan* or *dhurung*), which they practise on the lines of the Darma Rajputs, they generally use a buffalo, which in some places they finally chase and kill with stones, sticks and knives, and in others, like Chaudans, they call in their fellow-castemen from the next village, and exhort them to kill the victim, and insist that death must be with one blow; otherwise, if the animal dies by a torturing death, they threaten that, on a future occasion, they will also torture in their turn the funeral victim of the other villages. The *dhurung* in Mana is only practised below Joshimath, and persons go that distance to perform it. The Dumra Bhotias do not give gifts to Brahmans, and they consider the sister's son to be the family priest, in fact they do not resort to the Hindu hierarchy.

Huniyas—The Huniyas derive their name from Hundes, the portion of Tibet opposite the Almora and Garhwal districts: they are Bhotias in the meaning attached to that word outside the Almora and Garhwal districts: they are also called Khampas, Bidesis and Jarhs. They intermarry with each othor but not with Bhotias, of these districts, who do not apply the term Bhotia to them at all. The Bhotias, however, eat from their hands and with them. They are really Tibetans and intermarry with Tibetans. They are Buddists but also worship the deities of Kumaon. They eat the flesh of the yak, but sometimes profess not to do so in British Territory, such is the influence of Hinduism, the yak being considered a cow. They practise polyandry, but only the brothers, and they true brothers, resort to the same woman as their joint wife. Some wear pig-tails, and some *chutiyas*, and some wear neither. Again some cut their hair and others do not.

Trade.—No account of the Bhotias can be complete without a notice of their trade, for they are traders from childhood, with the exception of the Jethoras. In the past the cardinal principle to be remembered has been that the Tibetans will only trade in these parts with those persons with whom they can eat. There are exceptions, *e.g.*, the Duryals in Garhwal, who are the descendants of Brahmans and Chhattris, and the inhabitants of Pangla in Chaudans, have been allowed to trade, although they are not Bhotias; but the general rule is certain, *viz.*, that as the Bhotias alone can eat with the Tibetans, they alone can trade with them. Another rule has been that trade can only take place through what is known in the business world as "house-connections." Formerly, so far was the custom pressed, that only certain Bhotias could go to certain marts, but time had already broken down this restriction to a great extent, and although there have been difficulties yet there has been also a much greater freedom. Taklakot or Taklakhar, known as Purang by the Tibetans, has led the way, and trade has been possible there even without a "house-connection," although the drinking of tea has been a necessary part of all business. Now the Treaty of Lhasa, of 1904, has introduced free trade and changed the old order of things.

Digitized by Google

The trade figures are as follows in rupees:—

		1901–02.	1902–03.	1903–04.
British Garhwal.	Native Garhwal	55,000	78,000	27,000
	Mana over the Mana Pass, called Tunyi-la by Tibetans	33,000	37,000	43,000
	Niti over the Niti Pass, called the same by Tibetans	1,63,000	1,42,000	1,31,000
Almora.	Johar over the Untadhura Pass, Tibetan Kyunamla	3,05,000	4,21,000	3,92,000
	Pargana Darma—			
	1. Over Lipu Lekh Pass, Tibetan Jang Lhaula	5,76,000	4,98,000	4,87,000
	2. Mangshan Pass, Tibetan same ...			
	3. Lampiya Kuti La, Tibetan same ...			
	4. Neo Dhura (for *patti* Darma) Tibetan Nooi La or Shekhu La ...			

Of this about four lakhs go over the Lipu Lekh Pass, which is a very easy one. In 1841, the trade over this Pass was only Rs. 35,900, showing that the trade has increased since then elevenfold. Meanwhile, over the Johar Pass trade has, in the same period, increased only $2\frac{1}{4}$ times. A further point of interest is that, between 1872 and 1902, the population in Johar has increased 13·75 per cent., and in Pargana Darma 93·12 per cent. About 80 per cent. of the trade of the United Provinces goes through the Almora District. The wonder is not that the entire trade is so small, but, considering the execrable routes, that there is any trade at all. The principal imports are borax, salt and wool, and exports grain, sugar and piecegoods.

This Memoir does not enter into points of similarity and dissimilarity between this interesting people and the Tibetans living immediately across the border; nor does it treat of the past commercial political history of the Bhotias, all of which subjects amongst others are treated at length in "Western Tibet and the British Borderland," by the present author.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google